

The EARLE of
PEMBROKE'S
S P E E C H

In the House of
P E E R E S,

Upon debate of the *Citie's Petition for a Personall Treaty*, to be had with His MAJESTY in *London.*

And also upon debate of those Reasons given by their Lordships unto the Commons, for not sending the three Propositions before a **T R E A T Y.**

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PENBROOK

Quebec Biological Survey
Committee for the Protection of
Rare Plants

R. M. R.



The EARLE of
P E M B R O K E S
S P E E C H

*In the House of Peeres, upon debate of the
Cities Petition for a Personall Treaty,
to be had with His Majesty in London.*

The C I T I Z E N S being withdrawn, his Lordship spake as followeth.

My Lords,

 Thank God you had no reason to make me your *Speaker*: And truly (all things considered) I have as little reason to be a *Speaker* as any man: And yet I will speak; for I have been learning these *seven yeares* how to do it *extrumper*. I have help't too to baul down *Bishoppes* and *Scholars*, and *Ministers* for *dumb-dogs*, and doe you think I'll be a *dumb-dog* too? A halter I will: If I should sit still and say nothing, and let His *Majesty* come to *London*, that were the way to make me *dumb* indeed, for I can say no more for my self then a *dog*. I hope the door is fast, that the *Citizens* do not hear me, because I'll speak my minde: What though I do not know my own minde? Yet I'll speak it as well as I can. 'Tis known I am a true *Englishman*, though I

cannot speak good English, and as honest a man too as my Lord Say can make me ; and therefore (my Lords) now I have lived long enough with you, I meane to dye with the House of Commons, or else (they say) I shall be no Lord ; And so say I to you : *Grasse and hay*, (my Lords) we are all mortall, and must be tyed up to the Manger.

I have been for the City too in my time, when they would pay their money ; hear reason, and invite us to dinners. Hang them Rascals, they cannot say but we have given them their Belly-fulls too, (I pray God they do not hear me.) This time twelve-month they made a young man of me, and yet (as simple as you think me) I am an old man : They drew me into a new War, and made me waite upon a new Speaker, and Vote His Majesties comming to London : But I was a mad man, I knew not what I did then ; for, if the Army had not had the more mercy, I had been a Traitor as well as the rest, for ought I know. Doe ye think then I'll Vote the King home againe ? no I warrant you, I am an old Bird, and scorne Chaffe, or to be made a Traitor any more for any King in Christendome. I am an old thing made new now : My man Michael tells me I am an Independent. I think I am a good Christian, I.; but Citizens and Scots are Fewes : And who knowes but that Personall-Treaty may be a new name for Popery ?

You may bring in Popery, and break the Covenant (if you please my Lords) but I dare not. I am sure we have reason to regard it, For we have gotten well by it : we have gotten the Crown-Lands, Church-Lands, the Cavaliers Lands, every mans Lands too, if we please, and the Devil and all : And how shall we keep them, if we doe not keep the Covenant ? For my part, I'll keep to my Oathes, and rather then part with them, Dam me I'll swear down all this Personall Treaty.

And good reason too ; for they say it will undoe all that we have been doing these seven years : And for my part, I thought all had been undone already, then what needs any

more

more undoing by a *Treaty*? My Lords, if we must undoe, let us undoe as the House of Commons does. They doe one thing to day, and undoe it to morrow. They Voted they would never make any more *Addresses to the King*, and made us *Vote* so too, and then they made us *un-vote* all again. And truly, I think this is a *hard Chapter*, for, I cannot reade the meaning of it, but I am sure they doe not mean a *Treaty*, if they can help it.

I like the way of sending *Propositions*, I ; for, I love to goe on errands. I am sure it is an Honourable imployment for an old man to be the States half-penny-Boy ; and I am glad, the Commons will not hear your Reasons for the Kings comming, before He have signed the three *Propositions*. For, observe (my Lords) if they should hear Reason, they might goe whiffler. Mistake me not, I mean if they should hear any Reason but their own, and I think that is all the Reason in the world, for it is *Reason of State*, or the States own *Reason*. There I think I hit it ; for, all other *Reason* is *Malignant* and *High-Treason*. Why then should we Treat with the King? For he'll talk *Malignant Reason*, and *reason of State* too, but then, here's the matter (my Lords) he will not talk the States *Reason*, and therefore judge ye, whether the State have any reason to talk with Him, when He will talk nothing but *Treason*, and by that meanes (my Lords) make you, or me, or any of us all *Traitors* to our Faces. Trust Him that will, for my part, I shall have as little to say to Him as any of you all, and yet you see I am a good Speaker, according to the States *Reason*.

I thinke, we never had good world, since we had so much *Reason*: For my part (I'll speak my minde plainly) I never had any reason of my own, nor will I own ever any but Michael Oldsworth's and the States, and by the life of Pharaoh, I think they two are as reasonable Creatures as any in the world. But to this point of *Reason* I mean to speak more, now I come to examine your Lordships *Reasons of State*, which the House of Commons have Voted contrary to the States *Reason*: For,

as I take it (my Lords) they are the STATE, and you know we are all bound to submit to the STATE, or else we are *Traitors*; I am sure few of us but have been made so for not submitting, and 'tis Gods mercy we are not all *Traitors*. Howsoever, I'll be one no more, if I can help it, but keep as well as I can to the States Reason, and I advise your Lordships to doe so too; for they care not a *Fig* for all your Reasons, nor I neither. 's Death, I am sure some of you have no reason to the contrary; you know how you were whip't with the *Black-Rod* lately; and I can tell you, there's a *black-Book* too at the Head-Quarters: If you'll *doe reason*, ye may, but (mark ye, my Lords) it's very dangerous to talk *Reason*, it's the only way to be put in the *black-Book*, and then you know the *black-Rod* follows. I am an *old man*, I, and some of you are old enough too, but (you see) we are not *past whipping*, and yet you will not take warning.

Howsoever, I shall have a care of one, and in the mean time see what reason you have to venture to talk *Reason* to the STATE. If you were their *Fellow-Commoners*, you might have some *reason* to make bold to give them *Reasons*, but being as it is, me thinks you might know your distance. You say you would not have the three propositions offered to the King before the Treaty; First, because the *Citizens* here, and diverse Counties have petitioned for it. The *Citizens*! Tis true, they have brought us in a *Petition* here for it. But the more *Rascals* they: They may go home & say their *Prayers*; for, they are not like to be heard here. What do they *pray* when they should *curse*? *Dam me* do they think the *States* a *Camelion* to live upon aire, good words, and *Petitions*, and *Treaties*? They were all for a *new-war*, and drew me in too this time *Twelve moneths*, & now they are against a *new-war*. Is there any *Reason* in this, when the *States* have not yet done their businesse: must They *doe and undoe* as wel as the STATE, and now by doing nothing quite *undoe* the STATE? They shal be *hang'd first*,

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Dam me they shal: I am somewhat the more eager against this, (my Lords) because you say 'tis Reason; but yet I hope the Citizens do not hear me. I would not have all that I speak, to be spoken on the House-Tops, because usually (my Lords) I seldom speak, but I am o'th Top of the House before I am aware. But this I say, why should they stand for Peace and Treaties, that first set afoot the war? And now when we expect they should serve another Apprentiship to the STATE to maintain the war, they meant to leave Reformation like Dun in the mire, and are become so Popish as to Crosse us with Treaties. If they were for a new-war this time Twelve-month, 'tis all the Reason in the world they should be so now. What though the Case be not the same, nor the STATE the same now that it was then? I hope the Cause & the State are alive stil, and wil be as long as the King and the Cavaliers live, & out-live them too; for, They are the same stil, and fitter for another world then the STATES world: For the STATES world runs round, and hath done so these seven years, but the King and the Cavaliers are the same stil: And therefore (my Lords) I shal conclude with as good Logick as any I have left in the University, as long as the King and the Cavaliers are the same, the CAUSE must needs be the same, though the STATE be not the same, but mangled, and rent, and patch't, and new-model'd, and the Covenant likewise crackt all to pieces. And where is your Reason now (my Lords?) doth it not follow then, that they ought not to take the same Course to maintain the war against the King and the Cavaliers, and not trouble the STATE thus with Treaties? especially, seeing Guild-Hall is the same, the Excise, the City-Bags, and Publique Faith too, are all the very same stil, and as full and fluent as ever. And if these fellows that come here to vex the STATE thus with Petitions, will not go home in Peace, to forward a new-war, and be the same men again that they have been, I hope the Army will come & pickle them up in the Tower, & serve them the same

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Sause, their *fellowes* had this time *Twelvemonth*. For what other end (I pray you) do we keep the *Army*, or the *Army* keep us?

And now (my *Lords*) that I have done with the *Citizens*, I shall fall upon the *Counties*. What have they to do with *Petitions*? they are out of their *Calling*: they should follow the *Plough*, and let the *STATE* alone to *Harrow*, and fetch in *Harrow*. I warrant you they had rather have a *King*, and see us *Quarter'd*, then indure any more *free-Quarter*; but I think the *States-Guard* quarter'd them sufficiently, and made *drawn-Cats* of 'em, I mean the *Surrey-men*, so that I think they, or the rest, will have little *stomack* again to come a *Petitioning*. What reason then (my *Lords*) have you to regard what They say for a *Treaty*? They can but talk (you see) and the *State* can fight, and be nee'r the more *Traitors* for it; but if these fight, they are *Traitors* presently, as soon as we have conquer'd them. I tell you (my *Lords*) if the *S T A T E* had voted me a *Soldier*, I would have no more mercy upon these *Fellowes* than if they were *Traitors* in gingerbread. What though They would bite? I have ventur'd ere now the tender'st *Member* that I have, with a biting Thing, and *lain* in a month for it under the *Surgeons* hands; and I'll venture my *Tongue* with any *Bitter* of them all, but I'll be sure to have a care of my *Head* for the service of the *STATE*; and who knows, whether I may keep it if there be a *Treaty*? But I wonder what good my head would do them: I am not weary of it yet, for, I never much troubled it, nor have been much troubled with it, and yet I should be much troubled to part with it. 'Tis true, I for my part never got any thing by it, and I suppose no Body else will: Therefore they had as good let it alone. But neither you have any Reason to venture yours, nor I mine; and therefore to this part of your reason (my *Lords*) I say the *Counties* are as very *Rascals* as the *Citizens*, that would have us to pull an *old House* upon our Heads by a *Personall Treaty*. They would have a disbanding of the *Army* too, would

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would they? But they shall snap short; For, I love the Army, Damme I do dearly. Sink me, they would have us disband I think too, and sit no longer; but if the Army will love us, wee'll love the Army; for, why should the Counties be so much against the Soldiers, poore wretches! Consider (my Lords) an'twere your owne case; for, it might have pleased God to have made some of us Soldiers. And so (my Lords) I think I have maul'd your first reason against the three Propositions.

Your second Reason is, because His Majesty hath often declared, that he will signe nothing till all things be concluded, and therefore that the sending of those three must needs cause delay to the Treaty. I would have you to know (my Lords) I am not for delayes, I hate them; for, I think I am as hasty as any man; but yet I care not, if we delay a Treaty with God or the King till Dooms-day, and that I think is a faire time; for, it may be to morrow for ought we know: And it is a very fit time, I think, since His Majesty will agree to nothing till the conclusion of all things. I wish him well, he was my Master, but I care not much for seeing him, nor for kissing his hand; I can kisse my Lady *May*, and she is my Mistresse. I care not for kissing of men: I am an old man, and it is not for me to be kissing: but if she be for a personall Treaty, then indeed this Reason holds good against delay, and I am of your opinion.

Then you say too, it is contrary to the rules of treating to grant any thing before the Treaty. Have we done what we list all this while, and must we go by Rule now? Then it will follow too, that we must let the King rule again. He is in a fine condition to rule, is he not? I thought we could have ruled one another better than he. I am sure my Lord *S A Y* rules me, as well as ever I would desire; and I believe he rules you as well as me;

and then we can never be against the Rules of Treating, as long as he rules the Rose, because he sayes a Treaty is out of all Rule, and none but unruly Fellowes do stand for it, and it is not for our Honours (my Lords) to be unruly : But Dammee, I think we cannot be unruly ; for, we have as good a disciplin'd Army as any is in the world to rule us.

But I say further, that it was the desire of the Scots to have His Majestie come to some of his houses neare London, and therefore we should yeeld to it presently, to keep a faire correspondence with them. Dammee and sink me (my Lords) what have we to do with them now ? we had occasion to use them a while ago, but now that they have helpt us to conquer the King, we have done with them. We (my Lords) must be ruled, but the Scots (you see) are the Lords of misrule. For my part, I'll have nothing to do with them ; I cannot abide a Scot ; for, a Scot switcht me once, and crackt my crowne with my owne staffe, the very virge of my Lord-Chamberlainship , and now they are all coming to switch you too. They say Hamilton is their Generall. He is a Duke ; I cannot abide a Duke, because I am not one my self ; but do not I look as like a Duke as Hamilton ? Well, I might have been one, if I had had wit enough to keep that honor which I had : But I had honor ; what then had I to do with wit ? That's for poore Rogues ; for, wit and honor seldom meet together. I know many men count swearing to be wit ; and if I had been so witty as to keep close to my Oaths at Court, and not broke them by playing false with the King, and foiswære my selfe by taking the State's Oaths, and the Scots Oath : Dammee I had been as good a Duke before this time, as any Scot of them all. But hang Dukes, we are Princes now, an't please the Commons.

As for the King's coming to one of his houses, I know not

not what that means, for he hath never a *house*: I say they are the *State's* Houses time out of mind, at least these seven yeares, ever since His Majesty was turn'd out of doores. I am afraid, if he should come to any of his *houses*, and we not agree with him, nor let him be *King* again, we shall be turn'd out of our House, and the *Commons* out of their House; and then we shall not have a *house* to hide our heads in. Mark ye too (my Lords) it must be to some one of his *houses* neare London. How d'ye like that? I am sure some of you have no *houses* neare London, and ye thought to make bold with His *Majesties*. S'death, I thought ye had *hous'd* him for that purpose, and will ye now give over *house-keeping*?

You say likewise, there is more reason to offer a *Treaty* with him now, then there was heretofore at *Oxford* and *Uxbridge*. Well (my *Lords*) you may do what you will. *Sink me* if I don't live and die with the *House of Commons*. I am for the *State*, I: But if you'll undo your selves with *reason*, I can't help it: you see the *Cavaliers* have undone themselves with it already. And if you'll beggar your selves with it too, and leave me to *keep house* here by my self, you may. You know the *House of Commons* and I are all one; and if you leave the *House of Peeres* to me and two or three more, the *Commons* House and ours will soone be *all one* too. Hang *reason* then, will you provoke the *State*, and leave my company for a little *reason*? You know whither my Lord of *Holland* is gone for his *reason*, & what's become of my Lord *Francis*, and the rest, and where His *Majesty* is with all his *reason*, and where I am that have *reason*. You talk of *treating* at *Oxford* and *Uxbridge*. 'Tis true, His *Majesty* baffled us with *reason*: but how hath he prospered after it? I believe it never did any body any good; and I am sure, though we had *no reason* to get the better, yet we got the better with *no reason*: And therefore

because we thrived so well then without reason, I think 'tis wisely done to deal out of all reason ever since. And so (my Lords) I think I have tickled you for all your Reasons, against our sending of the three Propositions before a Treaty.

Now (my Lords) in the next place I'll prove the Propositions themselves to be so reasonable, that I know you'll never trust to your own Reasons againc. What though they are unreasonable, yet they are not so, if I keep to my former distinction, that is, not according to Reason of State, but the States Reason ; for seeing a Treaty would quite undoe the STATE, sure 'tis all the reason in the world, they should propound things out of reason, on purpose to prevent Treating. Therefore I'll mainteine the first Proposition is most reasonable, that the King should recall all Proclamations and Declarations against us ; and well he 'scapes so too ; for, I am sure he slander'd us sufficiently with a matter of truth, though he call'd us out of our Names : S'death ! which of all us are Rebels and Traitors ? Do I look like one ? what, am I a Faux or a Catesby ? I am sure I had no hand in this last powder-plot ; nor the first neither : I scorn to be a Traitor, I dammee, what Declarations and Proclamations to cut off our Heads, and not recall them ? you may chuse whether you'll have 'em recalled or no, but sink me I'll have 'em recall'd. What shall our heads be fitted with an Iron Cap-case, and set a sunning these Dog-dais upon the top of the house here to spoile our complexions ? dammee we must all come to't, if we be Rebels and Traitors : Traitor then in his face, if he will not recall his Proclamations ; for, they will make us traytors in spight of our teeths, if we do not make them treason against the STATE. What though the House of Commons have made us traytors in many things in spight of our teeths ? I hope the STATE may doe any thing, and be no treason : Therefore

Therefore I say these *Proclamations* are treason against the STATE, and so not to recall them is to be a traitor against the STATE.

But the Cavaliers say, if the King recalls them, then he makes Himselfe and Them to be the *traytors*. And all the reason in the world beleive me, for, do what we can we cannot make them *traytors*; why then should not hee make them so to our hands? for, I am sure we use them like *traytors*; and one had better be *traytors* (I think) than us'd so: But they are stubborne fellowes, their shoulders are broad enough to beare any thing, and therefore the STATE hath reason to make them the *Traytors* I remember when they proclaim'd my Lord of *Essex* a *Traytor*, and my Lord *SAY* here a *traytor*, and all that stuck to them *traytors*. I am sure I stuck to them close, and yet I think we are never the worse *traytors* for being proclaim'd. What's a *Proclamation*? I am sure there are some in the STATE that have torn his Majesties *Proclamations*. How can they be *Traytors* then? But I'll tell you (my Lords) who are the *traytors*. The Kings *evill Councillors* are the *traytors*; for, they never left him till we shut him up close prisoner, and put them away. We are the Kings great *Council* now: What though we will not let him come amongst us? yet I am sure we are his best *Council*, for, we save him a great deale of trouble, and dispatch all things for him without a hearing, and so I hope we shall dispatch him too, if he will not recall. Judge you then (my Lords) whether he had not best recall his *Proclamations*.

Now, for the second *Proposition* for settling of *Church-Government*, there is all the Reason in the world for it: For, I say every *tub* ought to stand upon his *own bottom*: Why then should not the Church of *England* be settled upon a *Scorched bottom*? Here's such a deale of doe about a *Church and Religion*; I tell you plainly (my Lords) I am an

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Independent; I love it better than Presbytery, and yet I think they are both but a *tale of a tub*: But howsoever, it is an *ill tub* that hath no *bottom*: therefore (my Lords) I keep to my first saying, the *Church* will never be settled, till every *tub* stands upon its own *bottom*. Judge you then, whether I am not fit to be a *Reformer*: The Assembly sayes, we must reform according to the *Word of God*. For my part, I never trouble my selfe to read a word of it, and yet you know I am an *Assembly-man*. What need I read the *Word of God*, when I keep a *Chaplain* to read it? Besides, they say the reading of it would spoile my *oaths*, and I'll not leave one word of my *oaths* for all the word of God: But I am willing to be rid of the *Scotch Oath*, because they say 'tis taken out of the *Word of God*, and it may be so for ought I know. But yet I would faine keep the *Covenant*, because it hath kept many of us these hard times, and because it keeps the *Bishops* away from us. I cannot abide *Bishops*, they have so much learning and antiquity: I hate *Surplices* too, ever since Mr. *Henderson* preacht it up for the *Whore of Babylon's smock*. It seems he had taken it up often, for he had many a *Bout* with her (as Mr. *Sedgwick* sayes) *now and anon* too: But hang the *whore of Babylon*; she is an *old whore*, and I am an *old man* (I thank God) but I cannot abide *old whores*, nor you neither (my Lords) I hope. Therefore judge you, whether His *Majesty* ought not to settle *Church Government* presently, that all *old whores* may be excommunicated.

As for our *third Proposition*, for the setting of the *Militia*, I know not well what to say to it. This *Militia* is a hard word, and so is *publike Faith*, but yet the *Citizens* made a shift to swallow it. The *Devill's* in their guts, they will downe with any thing these hard times; and they will downe with *Militia* too if we would let them. Sure, it is a very *hard word*; for, we have much ado to make His

jesty part with it, and we are as loth to part with it as His Majesty. But I think we have made him part with it in spight of his teeth. What though he will not give it us? we have it already, and we are fooles (I think) if we do not keep it. What, take away our *Armes*? does he think to make the STATE *crosse the cudgells*, and be Popish again? The STATE shall order Hammond to trip up his heeles first, and if he cannot do it, Ralph shall go and make him *kick up his heels*. He is a member of the STATE's *Militia*; he may do it. Dammee he may, for, no body that I see dares question him. Judge you then, whether His Majesty had not as good let us cut his *throat* with the *Militia* as without it. And so (my Lords) I think the three *Propositions* are very reasonable, and that you will never trouble the STATE with any more *reasons* against them.

Now (my Lords) for the *Cities Petition* here before us, I have but one word more to say. I say, their Petition is worse than your *reasons*. They would have a *Treaty* too, and no *propositions*; but they are not halfe so mannerly to the STATE as your Lordships; for, you give *reasons*, but they bring not a word of *reason* that I can understand; and yet they will have no *nay* to a *Treaty*. Hang 'em *Rascalls*; it is to save their *purses*. They had rather save their *purses*, than themselves or the STATE: but Dammee their *purses* and they are both *R. probates*, and therefore I say the STATE must damn them both. It's possible in time the STATE may hang them for all their services; I doe not meane the *Aldermen* in their own chaines; for, the *Troopers* will find other ware for execution: And well they deserve it; for, the poore *Army* hath taken the paines to conquer the Kingdom, and them too; and yet the *churles* are so miserable, they never could finde in their hearts to give them so much as one meale of *thanksgiving*; therefore I think after their cold *breakfast* before Colchester, they had best come and

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and fall aboard upon the City. I am sure they have some friends here that will bid them welcome: *skippon* hath a thousand Horse for the purpose; and I think they will help pretty well to fetch recruits out of these dogged fellowes of the City, and keep out a personall Treaty.

Then mark (my Lords) they'll have this Treaty to be in London: No other place will serve them to have the King in but London. I thought they had Kings enough at London already: but they'll have King Charles; that's a malignant word if you put God to it; for, it is the *Cavaliers* word, and I am for neither. I hope (my Lords) you will be so too, and not turn *Cavaliers* now at last; for what should we do with King Charles? which of us can look him in the face? Dammee, I think you have as little reason to treat with him as I. Well (my Lords) I have spoken my mind; I pray you do not order the printing of my *Speech*; for, I would not have every body know my mind before my selfe. I should speak oftener if I might be lesse in print; for, a *Speech* in print is neer kin to learning, and I hate learning; I hate a King; I hate King Charles. Do you do so too, and let's love one another, and be obedient to the STATE: For, Dammee, sink me and rammee nine miles into the bottom of a hedge, we are undone, if we do not make slaves of the City, and keep off a personal Treaty.

F I N I S.